Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/6 cont./

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[127]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

• [197]

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waĩka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they ocoupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

/134/

114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, [101] Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanonámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricaparú) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Warema-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uarema, Guaica and Sciriscíana) on the Merevari River (3). In 1954-55 O. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1956, pp. 354-357.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Pakidái. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was in-
197 dependent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/134 cont./

114 Rivet, who at that time set up in his classification of the American
197 languages a Širianá linguistic family which included the Širiana and Waika (5). W. Schmidt, who was familiar with the larger

5. Rivet 1924, p. 678.

Širiana vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, still unpublished at that time, was of the same opinion and wrote in 1926 that the language of the Širiana (Schiriana) "forms an isolated group along with those of the nearby Waika" (6). C. Loukotka, who took over the

6. Schmidt, 1926, p. 221.

revision and further working out of the classification from Rivet, retains the Širianá linguistic family, but adds to it Karimé, which has meanwhile become known, and Pusarakaŭ, which is merely mentioned, but is unknown linguistically (7). Waika was also still

7. Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9.

undocumented at that time, but its inclusion in the family resulted from the assertion by Koch-Grünberg that "the language of the very light-colored Waika is very closely related to the Schirianá" (8).

8. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

This assertion is now fully confirmed by the Waika notes of Zerries and Schuster. Up to the present time, however, the Pusarakaŭ has remained unconfirmed. The last version of the classification by Rivet and Loukotka, which appeared in 1952, introduces no change in the Širiana family (9).

9. Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140.

J. A. Mason, in his comprehensive revision of the classification of South American languages undertaken for the Handbook of South American Indians, acknowledges the Širiana linguistic family

/134 cont./

114 (for him Shirianá, Shirianán), but disregards the unknown
• 197 Pusarakaú (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Mason, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waicá) to the Širiana (Šhirianá) /135/ and contrasts the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. 7). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pusarakaú and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

114 Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am
104 giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the
197 not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

Z. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.
α. Chiriana (861). N2–4° W61–64°30' Br.
β. Uaica (860). N1°30'–2° W62–4°, N3° 30' W63°30', N4° W62°† Br.; N2–3° W64°, N3° W65° Ven.
γ? Guaharibo (495). N3° W65° Ven. Br.
b. Carime (845). N4° W64° Br.
c. Pusaracau (844). N3° W64°? Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil; the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's place-maps; the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by †) were spoken (in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Uraricuera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30']).

/135 cont./

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Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown all agree in regarding the Širiana family as a more or less closed group for which it has not been possible to determine any closer relationship with other American linguistic families. On the other hand, Swadesh, in his most recent contribution to the classification of American languages, sets up a "Makro-Širiana" group (for him macro-siriana), which includes, besides the Širiana family (for him sirisana), also the Čapakura family (chapakura) (13). This

13. Swadesh 1959, p. 20.

quite unexpected linkage, if it could be proved, would certainly raise very interesting and important questions for linguistics and ethnology, for the Čapakura family is found in the Guaporé basin, where it extends approximately between the tenth and sixteenth degrees south latitude over an axis formed by the 63rd degree west longitude. I therefore pursued the possibility of such a relationship and compared the languages of the Širiana family with those of the Čapakura. Although in the process nine Čapakura languages were considered (14), a lexical relationship between the two

14. Čapakura, Kitemoka, Napeka, Pawumwa, Iten, Moré, Kumanś, Wanyam, and Kabúí.

linguistic families could not be established. Since Swadesh has not yet published any material as evidence for the relationship suggested by him (15), his results cannot yet be evaluated in a

15. Swadesh is preparing to publish this evidence soon under the title "Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias /Material for a Comparative Dictionary of Amerindian Languages/"; cf. Swadesh, 1959, pp. 8-9.

case such as the present one. On the basis of my own investigation,

/135 cont./

114 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two
197 independent linguistic groups.

128 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words
197 are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára
114 informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized;
194 that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and ĭ sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and ĭ. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ɛ̄ = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ɪ̄ = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

/136 cont./

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	Surára and Pahiári	Waika	Karimé	Síriana	Waroma
Tongue	-dhe, P -dhe	-dhe	-dye	-d:ge	-?ahada
Tooth	-adhe, P -adi	-adi	-adhe	-ad:he	-aahada
Mouth	-hahdi	-hdhdi	-pd:nhd	-pdnig	-ihdi
Nose	-hadhe, P -radhe	-hdhdd	-nahdhd	-hdhpe	-hinihdd
Eye	-nánnah, P -nánnu	-nánnah	-nd:nu	-nd:nd	-nannd
Ear	-niwnahdhe, P -nimdhdhe	-yánnidhdh	-yannahe	-yanh?he	-Sinhanada
Forehead	-hdhe, P -hdhe	-hdhe	-yahoha	-hd:he	
Head	-hd	-hd	-yd:hd	-d:he	-hd
Head hair	-hendi, P -hendi	-hdandi	-yahdnidahd	-hhd:he	-hanawada
Arm	-hihe, P -hdhe	-hdhe	-yápaha	-hd:he	-pahada
Hand	-imahe, P -imah	-imih	-yámi	-ihd:he	-?amida
Foot	-mamdhe, P -mamayadhe	-mdhnh	-yahdh	-mdhh?he	-mainada
Knee	-mahdhe	-mahdhe	-mdhahe	-mahdhe	-hanwahad
Chest	-hanih, P -hanih	-nahdhfhe	-yápdni	-hdihe	-hdihd
Water	mah	mdi	mahe	mdh?pe	madad
Fire	hanahd	hin mdhd	nd:hd	ndhe	hnadidh
Rain	ma?a	md		mdd	madada
Wind	ihdhd	wadidi	yd:nd	wadi:hi	ipahd, wad
Sun	panihdnah, matahd	matidha	matidha	hdip(a)dl	pdmard
Moon	panimhe	pdhdhe	pand:he	mdi:he	pahipah
Soil	madihaha	mdhhia	madi:ia	madhia	madhadd
Mountain	pantdhe	mdh	hahe	tadd:nd	hdmadd
Stone	mdd	mdhema	md:ma	ma:mdhe	ma?damd
House	wyad	yáno	yd:no	wyd'ad (village)	zaid
Pot	hahohd	hahdhe	hdhohd	hapipa	hahohd
Man	wahad	ddh		hard:md	wamadd
Woman	nad	nid	had	thaytha-tl:ypd:ia	zatada
Mother	nápa	nd		nd:pa	thamatad
Tapir	hima	hima	hi:ma	hi:ma	za?md
Jaguar	I:ra	'ia	dhd	dhd	pa?d

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	Surára and Pakidái	Waiká	Karimá	Širiana	Waroma
Deer	*kayá*	*kéya*	*kéia*	*kaiɨxa*	*aʔaá*
Maracajá	*yaó*	*gidamáni*	*yawaté*	*tuáo*	*hiʔdawaní* (puma)
Cutia	*tómá*	*tómí*	*waáiro*	*tóːwɨ*	
Paca	*awatá*	*awáta*		*awáta*	*awotá*
Mutum	*paruri*	*háiuli*	*páːri*	*háːli*	*paiuli*
Jacamim	*wyapún*	*yápi*	*yáːpí*		
Jácaré	*iwá*	*iwa*	*aíri*	*waːli*	*iwadawá*
Fish	*yuːri*	*yúli*	*yúri*	*waytali-típ(i)na*	*íhwáː*
Crayfish	*aká*	*áka*		*áːka*	
Banana	*kwatá*	*kwatá*	*kwaːtá*	*kalatáːka*	*ukwatawá*

192
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The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]

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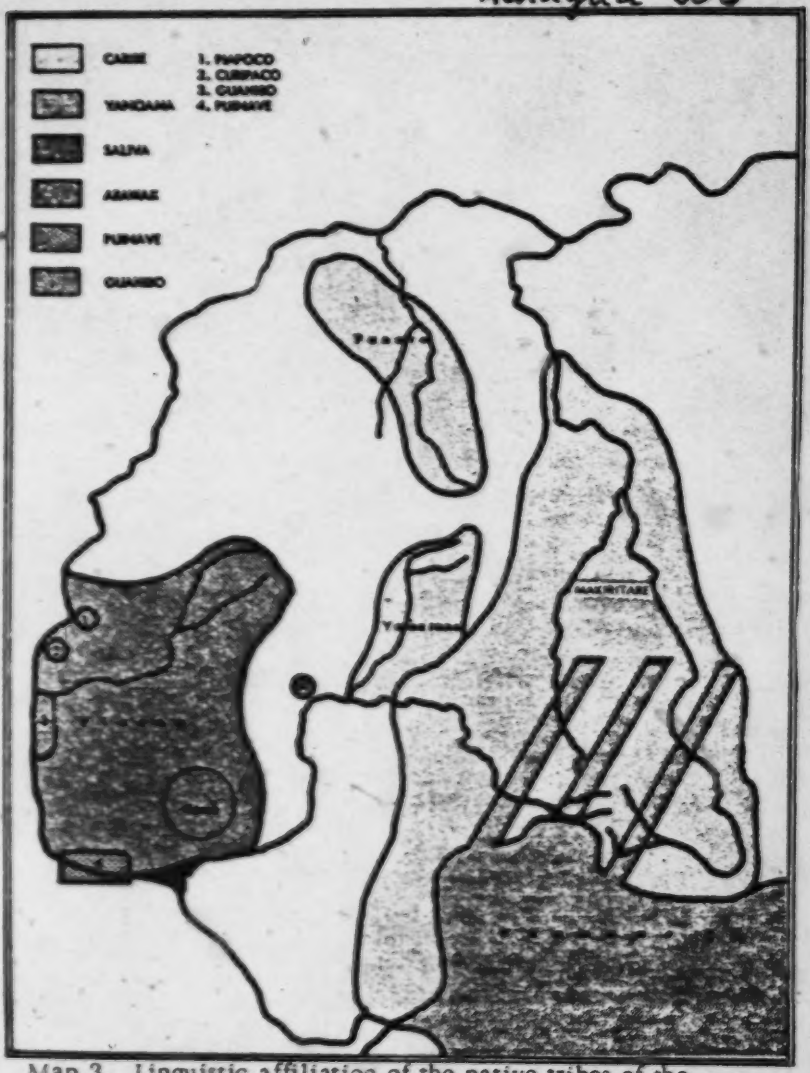
4: Wilbert--7 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14
Achagua SC5

YPaYAGBPuMYa
102
● 197



Map 3. Linguistic affiliation of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 55%

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
● 197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

127 192 197 174 The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

174 • 197 :192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra
197 de Parima;
101 b) Karime (or Shaunári), on the Catemany River in the same region;
c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;
d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate
197 between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-
[127] 35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ
[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)
1. Shirianá
a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)
B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé
197 are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based
114 upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

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114

McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guahariban with Chirianan, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pusaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:

Surará-Pakidai (Samatari), 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

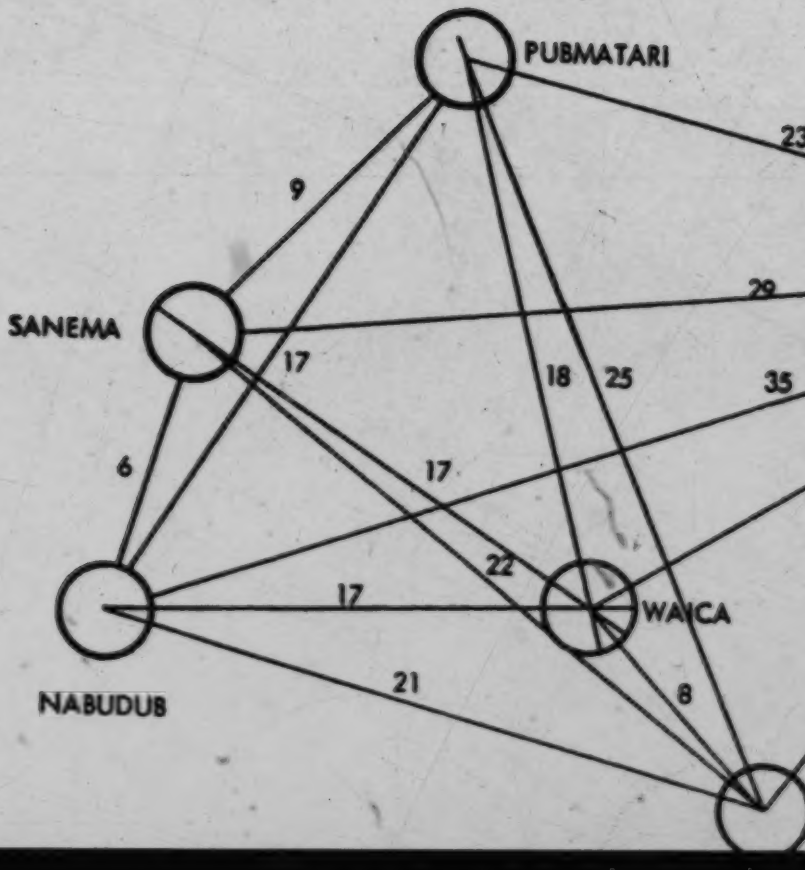
/195 cont./

114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
● 197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.


PUBMATARI
SANEMA
WAICA
NABUDUB
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4. Wilbert--49 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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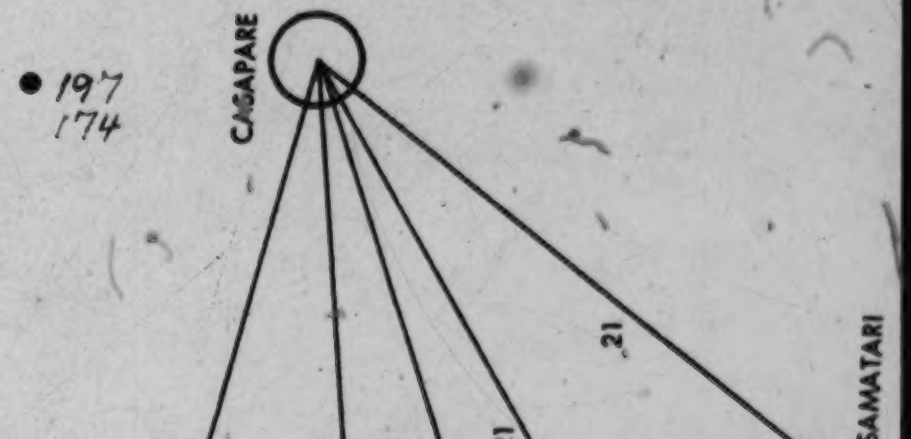

4: Wilbert--48 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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Idioms	Pairs	Cognates	%	mo.
1. SAMATARI				
2. Casapare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8
2. CASAPARE				
3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21
3. SANEMA (Erebato)				
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17
4. PUBMATARI (Casiracumi)				
5. Nabudub	65	40	63	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18
5. NABUDUB (Venimari)				
6. Waica	86	51	59	17

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Chibcha SC11 Sanema Warao SS18 Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y 114 126 143 At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y 143 The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

WC B [143] The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y CI 143 ● 197 During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subcribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe linguistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

Warao SS18

Sanema
Chibcha SC11
Bari' SS13

/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

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197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necesary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barf, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Sanumari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá*: (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubunatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubunatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubunatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare*: (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Sanumari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Sanumari = 21 mc, Waica-Sanumari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Becher, 1951; Schauer, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanumá, by Vitale, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall'Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us leave a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

StLayrisse et al. D. E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[6] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirioana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

6 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontón, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*tuan*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*puleng*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

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131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

● 199 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 199 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted [248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton hammocks [352] and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version [342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some [484] few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/ [114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 628 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika